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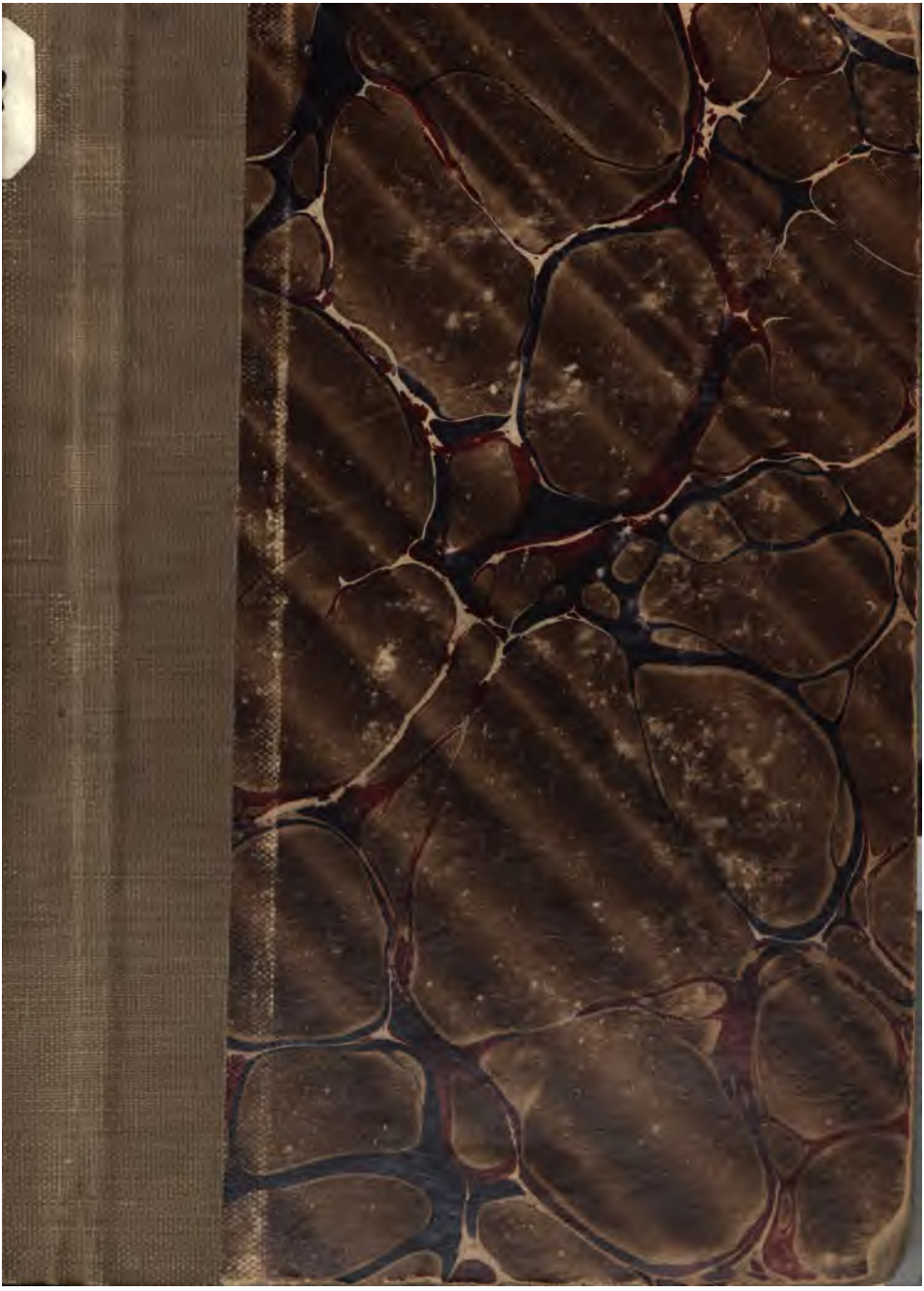

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THE LEE LECTURE, 1893

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THE WORSHIP

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

DURING THE

COVENANTING PERIOD, 1638-1661

BY

GEORGE W. SPROTT, D.D.

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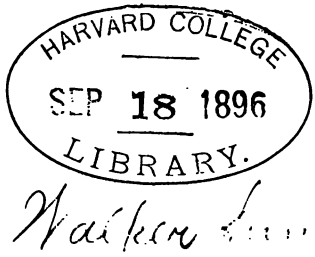

"Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters."
—EZEK. xxvii. 26.

THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH DURING THE COVENANTING PERIOD, 1638—1661.

IN recent years several valuable treatises on the Worship of the Scottish Church have appeared, which have done much to correct historical blunders, and to remove prejudices founded upon them. But there is still room for further contributions to the history of particular periods, and there is much unused material in the manuscript records of the Church. I have chosen as the subject of this lecture the Worship of the Church during the Covenanting Period, in the hope of shedding some fresh light upon it, and of putting old material in its proper historical setting. The period is one of painful interest, but the Church, as re-constituted in 1690, is not implicated in the

Covenanting Legislation, and we are free to consider it without bias, and to make the best use we may of its lessons and warnings.

I shall notice briefly *the Worship of the Church before the commencement of the Covenanting Movement.* For some years after the Reformation, the English Prayer Book was read in the Parish Churches of Scotland, but it was soon superseded by the Book of Common Order—a version of the Liturgy used by the Reformed Churches on the Continent—and this continued to regulate the worship of the Church until 1645. The first part of the service was conducted by the reader from the Lectern, and consisted of praise, prayer, and the reading of Holy Scripture, with, in some cases, the Decalogue and the Creed. The minister then entered the pulpit, and after kneeling for private devotion, followed with a prayer (or two prayers and praise between), the sermon, a Prayer of Intercession, praise, and the benediction. In some cases all the prayers were offered by the minister. In the prayer before the sermon he was directed to ask for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, as the same shall move his heart; and conceived prayers, as they were called, always formed part of the service. In the absence of the minister, the service was wholly devotional, and was conducted by the reader. In all the towns and principal villages there was daily morning and evening prayer in the Churches, which in many places stood open all day for the private devotions of the people.

The only important change in worship before 1638,

was that made in 1618 by the Assembly of Perth, which enjoined that the Lord's Supper should be received kneeling, that both Sacraments should be administered privately to the sick, that children should receive Episcopal Confirmation, and that the Church should observe the days kept throughout Christendom in commemoration of our Lord's Birth, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. King James induced the Assembly to sanction these Articles, and they were engrossed in Presbytery books. King Charles, in the early part of his reign, exempted from obedience to them those ministers who were ordained before 1618, but as their number diminished, their places were filled by others who promised submission.

Sir W. Brereton, an English Puritan, who visited Edinburgh in 1635, gives the following account of the worship of the City Churches, which, so far as it goes, fairly represents the general practice :—

"The order that is observed in the worship of God is this : Upon the Lord's Day they do assemble betwixt eight and nine in the morning, and spend the time in singing psalms and reading chapters in the Old Testament until about ten, then the preacher comes into the pulpit, and the psalm being ended, he reads a printed and prescribed prayer, which is an excellent prayer. This being ended, another psalm is sung, and then he prays before sermon, and concludes his sermon betwixt eleven and twelve. . . The afternoon's exercise, which begins soon after one, is performed in the same manner as in the morning, save (that) the chapters (are) then read out of the New Testament, and they conclude about four. In the morning at the Greyfriars I heard a very worthy man, Mr James Fairley. In the afternoon I went to the College Church, where I heard a blind man preach. . . Here I saw the Sacrament of Baptism administered in this manner : The preacher standing in the pulpit, and there being

. . fastened into the same a frame of iron . . wherein there stands a silver basin and ewer; the minister used an exhortation, for God's great goodness in admitting them to this privilege, etc., and demanding from the witnesses (which are many, sometimes twelve, sometimes twenty) according to a printed form of baptism; the parent receives the child from the midwife, presents the same unto the preacher, who doth baptise it without any manner of ceremony, giving the strict care of Christian and religious education, first unto the parent, then unto the witnesses. When the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered a narrow table is placed in the middle aisle, the whole length of the aisle, about which the most of the receivers sit as in the Dutch and French Churches, but now the ceremonies of the Church of England are introduced, and conformity is much pressed, and the gesture of kneeling is also much pressed."[1]

Some of those who opposed the Perth Articles used the Book of Common Order rather as a directory than a liturgy, but the general tendency was to become more liturgical, and there was much probability of the Church being gradually assimilated to that of England.

In passing now to the Covenanting Period I shall notice:—

1. THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH FROM THE ASSEMBLY OF 1638 TILL THE ADOPTION OF THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY IN 1645.

The King's attempt to force a Book of Canons and a new liturgy upon the Church without consent of the Assembly or Parliament raised a storm of indignation throughout the country, which issued in the National Covenant. All were urged to swear it who were opposed to his arbitrary measures, and many did so who approved both of Episcopacy and Perth Articles, and whose chief objection to the

[1] Brereton's "Travels," pp. 109–110, pub. by the Chetham Society.

new liturgy was that it had been imposed merely by royal warrant. But in revolutions there is generally an extreme party which carries its measures, and an ultra-extreme party which wrecks the whole movement. Before the meeting of Glasgow Assembly in November 1638 the obnoxious books were withdrawn, but this did not satisfy the extreme men, and the Assembly went back upon King James' innovations and abolished Episcopacy and the Perth Articles. Sitting at the Communion was restored, and the private administration of the Sacraments and the observance of the anniversaries strictly prohibited. When the Easter season came round many Scotsmen seem to have felt it "an uncomfortable thing to dissent from all Christendom." Christmas was dear both on religious and social grounds, and it was no easy thing to stamp out the festivities common at that time. But the Christmas vacation in the Courts of Justice was abolished; year after year the Church Courts issued stringent orders that schools and colleges should be kept open, and that all classes should pursue their ordinary callings on that day. Transgressors had to submit to public church discipline, and gradually the observance of the day was completely effaced in the southern parts of the kingdom. These were the first changes effected on Public Worship by the Covenanters, but the great majority had no wish to go further; they had no idea of a non-liturgical Church, and their aim was to restore worship to the state in which it was before King James meddled with it.

But a little cloud had appeared in the west which was destined to darken the whole sky. Some of the Scots in Ulster, who refused to conform to the English Liturgy, were in the habit of holding meetings among themselves for conference and prayer. At Communions, celebrated by their own ministers, they gathered in crowds, and besides attending services on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, they spent the whole of Saturday and Sunday nights in religious exercises. Some of their ministers inclined to Independency, and some of the people were leavened with Brownism, an extreme form of the same system, so called from its founder who, after a time, left his followers in the lurch, and returned to the Church of England. The Brownists, among other peculiarities, rejected all forms of prayer, including the Lord's Prayer, and the reading of Scripture, without exposition. A ship-load of Ulster Scots, more or less of this type, with a number of ministers, sailed for New England in September 1636, to find a more congenial home, but encountering a heavy storm they were obliged to put back, and many of them, with others like-minded, returned to the West of Scotland in 1638, and introduced their "Irish novations" into their Mother Church.[1] Such was the origin of a party which degraded our worship, and, in the end, allied itself with Cromwell and his sectaries, and ruined the Covenanting Movement.

In the Assembly of 1639 there were many private

[1] "Life of Livingstone," Select Biog. Vol. I. Wodrow Soc. Baillie's Letters, I., 249.

conferences among the leaders of the Church about these innovators. Henderson and others "expressed themselves passionately against their conceits," but the ministers who came from Ireland, and others who befriended them, urged that no public action should be taken against people who made such a profession of piety. All were afraid of the injury that would be done by showing their divisions to the world, so the Assembly contented itself with enjoining the universal observance of family worship, and strictly prohibiting all innovations in Divine service. It was their private meetings, some of which were reputed scandalous, that gave most offence at first, but ere long the Church took alarm at their innovations in worship. It was hoped that the Act of Assembly would stop the evils complained of, but they grew worse and worse.

The Assembly which met at Aberdeen in July 1640 was much occupied with questions of ritual. It censured Raban, the printer, for curtailing one of the prayers in the Book of Common Order. It made an act against idolatrous monuments which led to the destruction of crosses in churches, market-places, and tombs, the breaking of stained glass windows, and the effacement of representations of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, and all sacred emblems.

"Then it was that the niches of Melrose were emptied of their statues of prince and prelate; that the sculptured pillar at Ruthwell was broken in three; that the Synod of Argyll was let loose upon Iona to cast its monuments into the sea and its manuscripts into the flames;

that the magnificent rood screen of Elgin, and the stately altar screen of Aberdeen, were hewn in pieces."[1]

Thus perished many precious memorials of the piety of our fore-fathers, and many objects of the greatest national interest. A later Act of Assembly prohibited the erection of monuments in churches bearing coats of arms and other honours in memory of deceased persons. It may be mentioned also that, by an Act of Parliament of 1640, many of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary were consigned to the melting pot to furnish the sinews of war to the covenanting army.

The business which excited the greatest interest at Aberdeen was the Western meetings and innovations. Henry Guthrie of Stirling urged that an Act should be made against them. Cant, Bonar, Dickson, and others opposed. Dickson said :—

"We have many friends in England and other parts who congratulate our Reformation but are not pleased with some of the things in our Kirk, especially in our discipline and order, and now that we are labouring for a uniformity in England we should be loath to give them offence, as this course certainly will if ye condemn this exercise." Lord Seaforth replied, "If we cannot have their (favour), but at so dear a rate as (that) of changing our discipline and suffering such disorder in our Kirk, we will not buy it so dear, but rather commit ourselves into the hands of God."

Dickson was supposed to refer to "the Brownists or such other sects," and this decided the Assembly to proceed. A committee was appointed to draft an Act. It first made enquiries as to the "certainty of

[1] Robertson's "Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals." Aberdeen, 1891.

the abuses" complained of, when testimonies such as the following were given :—

"That ministers who favoured these meetings coming into the Kirk to pray do not humble themselves first privately, and they forbid others or readers to use the least invocation of God by themselves ; they will not read the common confession of sins, and condemn the reading of it or of any set prayer. They call the Lord's Prayer a thread-bare prayer, and say it is not lawful to say that prayer, especially after supper. When they come to a Kirk they will go into the Kirk-yard till the common confession of sins be read, if they understand that the minister is wont to read it ; they will not sing Glory to the Father. . . That gentlemen of good quality are forced to omit all exercises of religion in their families, because they are taught in pulpits that it is a sin and shame unto them to use a set form of prayer. . . That when the congregation is in the Kirk, they have their private meetings in private houses by themselves, and then they expound Scripture without premeditation. They pray one after another, they expound Scripture one after another even albeit they . . can scarcely answer to the questions of the Common Catechism."

After hearing such testimonies the committee agreed upon an Act which the Assembly adopted. The substance of the Act is as follows :—

"The Assembly ordains that family exercise be restrained to every particular family apart. . . The Assembly does not disallow the reading or using of set prayer, neither in private nor in public ; as also ordains that none but ministers and expectants approven by presbyteries expound Scripture unto people, and that none bring in nor practise any novation in God's worship or service till first it be proponed to a General Assembly that the same may be considered there and determined upon."

An attempt was made to reopen the question by M'Lellan of Kirkcudbright, Bonar, and others, who urged that the Assembly should appoint a committee to make enquiries as to the truth of the allegations made. They were supported by Dickson, and the

Assembly thinking him too persistent, silenced him with shouts of "No more bishops, no more bishops." After that word, says the record, the supplicants held their peace.[1]

The Act gave great offence to the innovators, and they refused to obey it. The Assembly of 1641 met at St Andrews on the 20th of July. We learn from Baillie that many went to the meeting as "to a place of combat," that Ramsay, the former Moderator, preached eagerly against innovations, and that Dickson, by way of retaliation, preached repentance to those ministers who, before 1638, had conformed to Episcopal ceremonies. After being constituted, the Assembly adjourned to meet at Edinburgh on the 27th. The intervening week was spent in private conferences as to the measures that should be taken for suppressing Brownism. Some thought the Act of Aberdeen did not go far enough, others that it went too far, and should be repealed. Dickson, Blair, and others, who had been suspected of innovating, disclaimed all sympathy with those who omitted private devotion in Church and the Gloria, and who condemned read prayers.[2] The result was that an Act against impiety and schism was made and it was again

"Ordained according to the Acts of the Assembly at Edinburgh 1639, and at Aberdeen 1640, that no novation in . . worship . . be brought in or practised in this Kirk unless it be first propounded, examined, and allowed in the General Assembly, and that transgressors in this kind be censured by Presbyteries and Synods."

[1] Account of the Assembly of 1640, Wodrow MSS., Advocates' Lib.

[2] Baillie's Letters, I. 362.

Calderwood, the historian, who had been banished for his opposition to the innovations of James VI., and had long lived abroad, took a prominent part in these discussions. No man in the Church was such a master on questions of ritual or could speak with equal authority on the principles of the Reformed Church, and the Brownist innovations found in him a determined foe. This Assembly saw the commencement of those negotiations between the Covenanters and the Puritans which have had so great an influence upon the Scottish Church. A letter was read from some ministers in England in which they expressed their desire for unity between the Churches of England and Scotland. The Assembly, in reply, urged that efforts should be made to have, in both Churches, one Confession, one Directory for Public Worship, one Catechism, and one form of Church Government. Henderson proposed that the Assembly should prepare drafts of these documents beginning, as it appears, with a Directory of Worship, "with which England might possibly agree." The motion was adopted, and the burden was laid upon Henderson himself, but writing to Baillie, April 20th 1642, he says:—

"I did begin to put my hand to the task put upon me . . but have ceased long since, . . nor could I take upon me . . to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm book penned by our great and divine reformers. . . I cannot think it expedient that any such thing . . should be agreed upon . . by our Kirk till we see what the Lord will do in England. . . We are not to conceive that they will embrace our form, but a new form must be set down for us all. . . My desire is to see what form England shall pitch upon before we publish ours."[1]

[1] Baillie's Letters, II., 1.

An undated paper of Baillie's containing the sum of his conference with three or four yeomen of his flock at Kilwinning, who refused to sing the Conclusion, belongs to this period also, for in 1642 he became a Professor at Glasgow. In this paper he says . . :—

"The rejecting of the conclusion is one of the first links of the whole chain of Brownism. . . As you would be loath to give over your prayers, sacraments, preaching, as you would not forsake wholly our Church and your sworn Covenant, and drink down all the errors of Brownism, take heed to your spirit which you find so ready to learn the first lessons of these seducers. . . As for the putting of that matter in the end of a psalm, the Church which hath power to order the parts of God's worship, 1st Cor. xiv., 40, hath good reason for it, for Christ, in that pattern of all prayers and praises, teaches us to conclude, for Thine is Glory forever. . . We grant it is a part of the Liturgy and Mass Book too, but this proves it not to be any worse than the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. . . True, the Brownists will teach you to scunner at both. . . I earnestly exhort you, in the name of God, . . as you would not continue to be an evil example to my flock, . . as you would not open the door of your hearts to many and dangerous novelties, return to your former practice and cheerfully join with me, your pastor, and the rest of the flock, to ascribe to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that eternal praise which is due to his Name." [1]

During 1641 the Presbytery of Edinburgh also published a warning against Brownism, which they caused to be read from all the city pulpits.

The next Assembly met at St Andrews in July 1642. Henderson, the last moderator, in his opening sermon "taxed freely the . . humour of novations." This again proved a most troublesome business. . . The matter was discussed in committee, when Mr Andrew Cant "did much extenuat

[1] *Baillie's MSS.*, III., p. 21, Assembly Lib.

them," and "Mr Henderson and Mr Murray fell sharply on him." A petition, largely signed by the clergy, was brought to the committee, in which they express their grief and alarm at the growth of innovations and the failure of the measures taken to suppress them, and entreat the Assembly to enforce uniformity in "the public worship of God, lest, through our differing, . . the people stumble, yea, condemn the accustomed laudable practice of all their worthy reformers."

Henderson drafted a new Act, ordaining that no innovation in worship,

> "Whether by practising that which hath not been in use, or by ceasing from the practice, be introduced, that transgressors be censured by Presbyteries and Synods, . . and that none be received into any Kirk or ministry but such as by their practice shall declare that they do not condemn their brethren in such things as have been ordinarily practised in this Kirk."[1]

Baillie says that the northern clergy were "much inflamed," and that if it had come before the Assembly they would "have made a violent act, yet the places of these evils being alone among us in the west, they did leave the agenting of it to us." At last it was agreed that, instead of making a new Act, the moderator should send a letter to the Presbyteries troubled with innovations, which was drawn up and approved accordingly. Douglas, the moderator, in his closing address again warned the clergy to beware of innovations.

The letter signed by the moderator and clerk was

[1] Baillie's MSS., III. 1370, Ass. Lib.

sent to the Presbyteries in the west, 1st September 1642. In this letter they say that in the late Assembly

"There were many regrets and complaints of the beginning of dangerous dissensions and divisions . . about such novations as had been spoken of in the Assembly before at Edinburgh, and which had certainly burst forth in the open face of this Assembly to the scandal of the Gospel, to the censure of such as had in this kind been found transgressors, if . . with great love and meekness, somewhat had not been done in private for hiding and suppressing all public complaints and grievances for the present, and therefore it was thought necessary . . that we should give you advertisement hereof that ye take diligent heed to the dangers and divisive evil of novations within your bounds, . . especially that no novators and disturbers of the peace of the Kirk, whether by their doctrine in public or their opinion in private, or by their practice and example, be received into the ministry. . . Some learned and judicious brethren are appointed to give satisfaction to such as have any scruple concerning any of the laudable and received practices of our Kirk, that all causes of division may be plucked up by the roots; and we are appointed to advertise you that by all good and peaceable means you give all diligence not only to stop the . . growth, but to remove the . . seeds of all such evils as may bring forth . . so bitter fruits. We can hardly be induced to think that any gracious or wise brother of the ministry will forbear continually . . to say the Lord's Prayer, to sing the conclusion, . . and to bow in the pulpit, . . and if there be any such that will not receive satisfaction, but by his needless scruples will foment . . division, . . you know that the Act of the Assembly at Edinburgh doth warrant the Presbyteries to censure innovators. . . And it is not to be expected but the next General Assembly will call the Presbyteries to an account of their diligence, if any complaints such as there have been many at this time, shall be heard."[1]

The Synod of Glasgow, at its meeting in October 1642, enjoined moderators of Presbyteries at the

[1] Baillie's MSS., II. 1372, Ass. Lib.

visitation of Parishes to put the following question to ministers and elders :—

"If care be had to stop innovations according to the Act of the Assembly at Edinburgh, and the advice of the letter sent from the moderator and clerk of the late Assembly at St Andrews."[1]

Instead of doing any good this only exasperated the innovators, who thereupon wrote :—

"A full treatise in a very bitter and arrogant strain against the three nocent ceremonies—Pater Noster, Gloria Patri, and kneeling in the pulpit—proving by a great rabble of arguments . . which go far beyond these three particulars questioned, the unlawfulness of our Church practices."[2]

This paper was said to express the mind of seven ministers in Ayrshire, and about fourteen in Galloway. The Spring Synod of 1643 censured the Presbytery of Ayr for disobedience, resolved to refer the increase of novations to the next Assembly, and in the meantime to seek the advice of the Commission. When the Commission met, Dickson and Baillie had a conference with Douglas, Henderson, Blair, Rutherford, and George Gillespie, who were all exceedingly grieved at the spread of Brownism. It was not thought expedient to discuss the matter publicly, but it was resolved that the ablest penmen should answer in writing the arguments of the innovators, and that they should endeavour to satisfy them privately. "I am doing all I can," writes Baillie, "to set all instruments on work for the quenching of that fire."[3]

At the next Assembly, which met in Edinburgh in

[1] Baillie's MSS., II. 1386, Ass. Lib. [2] Baillie's Letters, II. 69.
[3] Baillie's Letters, II. 70.

August 1643, there was again much discussion in private conferences about innovations. All the noblemen were indignant with those who favoured them. A meeting was held with the leaders of the party, when the chief speakers on that side were M'Lellan and Nevay, whose reasons against the Lord's Prayer "all heard with disdain." Rutherford and Dickson replied to their arguments, but Rutherford and many more were ready, for the sake of peace at home, and of agreement with the English Puritans, to give up the Gloria and private prayer in the pulpit. Others demanded that something more should be done to stop the innovating movement, and in the end the Assembly ordained "that a Directory for Divine Worship . . be made ready" . . by next Assembly, and in the meanwhile forbade "all condemning one of another in such lawful things as have been universally received, and by perpetual custom practised by the most faithful ministers . . in this Kirk since the first beginning of Reformation to these times." This Act, which was designed to satisfy all, was a triumph for the innovators. It was a truce, but the advantage was all on one side. Henderson, Dickson, and Calderwood, were appointed to draw up the new Directory.

The great event of this Assembly was the approval of the Solemn League and Covenant. Charles had granted the Covenanters everything they wished, and had showered honours and rewards upon their leaders in the hope that they would at least remain neutr *in the* contest betwixt him and the English ma

contents. He had warned them that the chief promoters of the troubles in England were "Brownists and Ana-baptists, and other independent sectaries," and that they were as much opposed to Presbytery as to Episcopacy. Henderson and others hesitated, but the hope of reducing the English Church into conformity with their own proved too strong a temptation, and they entered into an alliance with the English, and sent commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, which had met on the 1st of July previous. Soon after, the Scottish Army crossed the Tweed and turned the fortunes of the Civil War. This changed the whole aspect of affairs, and split the Covenanters into two parties. It also greatly strengthened the hands of the innovators, as they well knew that the English sectaries opposed all liturgical forms.

At the next General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in May 1644, a letter was received from the Commissioners at Westminster, in which they state that "the Common Directory for Public Worship . . is so begun that we could not think upon any particular Directory for our own Kirk," and the idea of a Scottish Directory was virtually abandoned. Though the Book of Common Order continued to be the rule of the Church from 1638 till 1645, important changes were made during this period, not only by those who openly refused obedience to the Assembly, but by others who more or less sympathised with them. After 1640 the reading of prayers by the clergy was gradually given up, and an increasing

number discontinued the habitual use of the Lord's Prayer, Gloria Patri, and kneeling for private devotion. In some places, if not in all, the people had joined audibly in the Lord's Prayer and other prayers of the liturgy. This also was suppressed by some ministers. The reader's part of the Sunday service ceased to be so well attended as formerly, and in some cases lectures by ministers were substituted for the reading of morning and evening prayer on week-days.

II. WE NOW PASS TO THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE DIRECTORY IN 1645, TILL THE REVOLUTION OF 1648.

Many of the English clergy at Westminster would have preferred a revision of their own prayer-book, such as Knox helped to draw up and used for a time at Frankfort.[1] But this would not now have satisfied the Scots. Baillie and Henderson were anxious to retain the old Scottish usages, and might have welcomed a service-book of the Reformed Church type, but the Independents and other sectaries were opposed to all liturgical forms, and Rutherford and Gillespie inclined that way. The result was a Directory containing the substance of the prayers and exhortations to be used instead of a book of forms. This was a new departure, but those to whom it was unpalatable acquiesced on the understanding that they would be free to turn it into a liturgy for themselves.

The Directory was completed by the end of 1644, and a manuscript copy was taken down to Scotland

[1] For an account of this revision of the "Book of Common Prayer,' *see M'Crie's* "Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland," p. 373.

by Baillie and Gillespie, and laid before an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly in January 1645. Having fully considered the document, the Assembly represented to the English their desire that several alterations should be made upon it. The Scots' Commissioners had urged that the Creed should be repeated by the parent or other sponsor in the baptismal service. Baillie says :—

"The belief in baptism was never said in England, and they would not undergo that yoke. . . We got the Assembly to agree to equivalent interrogatories, much against the mind of the Independents, and we were assured to have the creed as part of the Catechism."

These questions were :—

"Dost thou believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" "Dost thou hold thyself obliged to observe all that Christ hath commanded you, and will you endeavour so to do?" "Dost thou desire this child to be baptized into the faith and profession of Jesus Christ?"

The General Assembly asked that these questions should be struck out, which would leave the Scottish clergy free to continue the practice handed down from pre-Reformation times of requiring the parent or god-father to repeat the Creed. They also expressed their desire that a clause should be added requiring a promise "to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." For the words, in the marriage service, "the place of the public meeting of the congregation in some church or chapel," they asked that "the place appointed by authority for public worship" should be substituted. The object of this was to make it clear and explicit

that marriage was only to be solemnised in parish churches. These alterations were afterwards accepted by the Westminster Assembly and English Parliament. On the 3rd of February the General Assembly approved the Directory, and ordered it to be put in practice as soon as the Commission should provide printed copies and give intimation to Presbyteries. This Act contains the following qualifications:—

"That the clause . . which mentioneth the communicant's sitting about the table or at it be not interpreted as if, in the judgment of this Kirk, it were indifferent and free for any of the communicants not to come to and receive at the table; or as if we did approve the distributing the elements by the minister to each communicant, and not by the communicants amongst themselves. It is also provided that this shall be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk in such particulars as are appointed by the books of discipline and Acts of General Assemblies, and are not otherwise ordered and appointed in the Directory."

This last provision was no doubt meant to cover such usages as the Creed and god-fathers in baptism.

On the 7th of February another Act was made for keeping uniformity in the practice of the Directory, which enjoined that ministers should begin half-an-hour earlier than they had done when readers took the first part of the service, that they should administer baptism as formerly after the sermon, and that, at the Communion, a short address at each table should be substituted for the story of the Passion, as previously read by the readers.

Besides the manuscript copy of the Directory Baillie and Gillespie had brought a letter from the Westminster divines, in which they expressed the

hope that the Scots would not be "tenacious of old customs not expressly forbidden." The meaning of this they "were instructed to make particular." Baillie shrank from the task, and pressed much that it should be delayed till Henderson's return, as he was better able to bear the burden. His reluctance is not to be wondered at, for he had to make the unpleasant revelation that the Westminster Assembly desired the Church of Scotland to prohibit the practice of private devotion on the part of ministers on entering the house of God, and of singing glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The first request was acceded to, and it was enacted

"That the ministers bowing in the pulpit, though a lawful custom in this Kirk, be hereafter laid aside, for satisfaction of the desires of the reverend divines in the Synod of England, and for uniformity with that Kirk."

One of the three nocent ceremonies which the English sectarians and their Scottish allies so vehemently opposed was thus prohibited, and when ministers on entering Church ceased to offer private prayer the people soon followed their example. When the Doxology came to be dealt with, Calderwood cried out "Let that alone for I hope to sing it in Glory." He thereby saved the Church the infamy of placing on her statute book an act forbidding the use of "that Godly form of praise" which had been the badge of orthodoxy for so many centuries, and which had been in constant use since the Reformation. It was thought good, Gillespie says, "to make no Act about this . . but to let desuetude abolish it." It seems to have been dis-

continued forthwith as we hear no more of it till the Restoration. Baillie was greatly surprised at the way in which the Assembly accepted alterations he had so much opposed at Westminster. The only prominent objectors were Calderwood and Andrew Ramsay who had long before been professor of divinity at Saumur. They recognised, as others did not, the width of the gulf that had now been opened betwixt the Scottish Church and the Reformed Churches beyond seas with which she had hitherto had so much in common. The innovators of the past eight years had triumphed, and, if some Catholic usages were still to be tolerated, they could now look forward with confidence to their removal also.

The first edition of the Directory was published in March 1645. In May following there appeared :—

"A supply of prayer for the ships of this kingdom that want ministers to pray with them, agreeable to the Directory established by Parliament. Published by authority."

This contains the service of the Directory in liturgical form, with special prayers for those at sea.

The order, which shows how the Directory was meant to be observed, is as follows :—1. Prayer of Invocation and Lord's Prayer. 2. Reading of Scripture—some psalms and chapters out of both Testaments. 3. Praise. 4. Prayer—Confession and Supplication. 5. "Prayer for the Church and our united Churches and Kingdoms." 6. Praise. 7. Prayer of Thanksgiving. 8. Prayer for a Blessing (*i.e.*, because said by a layman).

In the preface to this little prayer-book it is said

that it was prepared because there were thousands of ships at sea that must either use the Book of Common Prayer, which had been prohibited, or have no prayer at all, which "would make them rather heathen than Christians." Besides being a help to the clergy, it must have served an excellent purpose among those who were deprived of their services, and Blunt states, that the forms of prayer for use at sea which were added to the English Prayer-Book in 1661 were not unlikely suggested by the "supply" "which was set forth by the rebel Parliament as a supplement to the Directory of Public Worship." [1]

On the 27th of May 1645, the Commission of Assembly authorised the publication of a Scottish edition of the Directory, and in July sent copies to Presbyteries with orders to begin the practice of it forthwith. They were reluctant to make the change; they were loath to part with the reader's services on week-day and on Sunday, which the whole congregation attended on that day as a regular service when the minister was ill or absent. This hesitation was no doubt further increased by the fact that it had become doubtful whether the Directory would ever be introduced at all.

On the 15th of August 1645, the battle of Kilsyth was fought and won by Montrose. This placed Scotland completely in his power, and people on all sides were returning to their allegiance. Montrose was the champion of the National Covenant and a determined enemy of the Solemn League. He was a Presby-

[1] Annotated Book of Common Prayer, p. 651.

terian of the old Scots type, and abhorred the Irish and English innovations. On September 4th, he summoned a Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of October for "settling religion and peace," and a manifesto was prepared by him and his friends to be published in the interval. In this remarkable paper he defends himself against the ruling party in the state, and what he calls "the Brownistical faction, overruling our Church for the time." He says that their greatest reason for separating from the other Covenanters was their

"'Joining in league with the Brownists and Independents in England to the prejudice of religion,' that the ground of their present proceedings 'is the maintenance of our religion with the abolition of Episcopacy out of this Kirk, which in effect was nothing else but the restoration of that which our first reformers had before prelacy, . . which we believe was then as free of Brownism as of prelacy, and which, if we knew to be altered, we protest in God's sight we should be the first should draw a sword in defence thereof. But now finding the outcasting of the locust to be the inbringing of the caterpillar as is evident from . . their Directory, by which is given way and a door open to their worship and government, but as the one, namely, Episcopacy, is abjured by us, so the other is no less hurtful unto us—resolving then to eschew the extremities and keep the middle way of our reformed religion, . . we take arms for the defence thereof. Our enemies . . have perfidiously violated their National Covenant by novations introduced in the Kirk. . . Those are traitors to God and his Church, that open a door to Brownism and Independency, both in worship and discipline, which we offer us to prove by production of the tenets of the Brownists and Independents, contrary to our religion by our first reformers (which we profess to be our seeking) and the intention of our late reformers which being compared with their Directory shall be more evident.'"[1]

Montrose believed that the character of the Church

[1] Napier's "Memoirs of Montrose," I. Appendix 52.

was being changed, and that it was becoming at best a half-way house betwixt the reformed Churches and sectarianism. He and his friends counted upon a general response to their condemnation of the alterations made by the Directory, but the battle of Philiphaugh, 13th of September 1645, in which he sustained a crushing defeat, changed the course of history, and the manifesto never saw the light till our own day.

Early in 1646, the Commission again reminded Presbyteries of their obligation to introduce the Directory, and they began to bestir themselves. Neighbouring Presbyteries held conferences with each other with the view of agreeing upon a uniform way for the practice of it. In February 1646, it was begun in the Presbyteries of Haddington, Dunbar, and Dalkeith, and in Edinburgh in March.

John Row of Carnock, who began it in the end of March 1646, became unwell thereafter, and on the 17th of May writes thus in his Session record:—"I intimated to our people that I was minded to teach as I was wont to do before we got the Directory, to see if that would do me any good." The old man, who had wept for joy in the Assembly of 1639 at the overthrow of Episcopacy and the Perth Articles, did not like the novelties imported from Westminster.

The Church meant the Directory to be strictly practised, but the clergy soon fell away from it, and that in the direction of Brownism. One great crux was the reading of Holy Scripture. The reading of a

portion of the Psalter and two chapters was enjoined at each service, and this rubric was added :—

"When the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended."

In the end of 1644 Petrie, minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam, introduced the exposition of a whole chapter instead of reading, without note or comment. This was objected to by many of his elders and congregation as "bordering on Brownism or Papistry." The dispute was referred to the Scots Commissioners at Westminster, and they replied that—

"The exposition of a chapter at once is not only lawful . . but is now appointed by the Synod of London to be a part of the uniformity of Divine Service in all the Kirks of the three kingdoms."

Strangely enough, the Clergy henceforth acted on the Brownist principle, that there was to be no reading of Scripture without exposition. It was the intention of the Assembly, as appears from a subsequent Act (1652), that they should make a few comments on each of the chapters read, besides preaching a sermon; but, instead of this, they read only one short passage, and expounded it at length. This was the beginning of lecturing before preaching, which till that time had been unknown in Scotland.

The Directory allowed an alternative as to the place of thanksgiving and intercession, and the clergy, in accordance with the primitive and reformed liturgies, continued their old practice of introducing the intercessions after the sermon. In the special services

there was less change, but marriage was no longer solemnised during public worship on Sunday; the Communion Service was prolonged by table addresses, and at funerals prayer was forbidden, not only at the grave, but in the house of the deceased.

By the time the Assembly met in 1647 the daily services, which had been held in the principal Churches of the country since the introduction of Christianity, were everywhere given up. This Assembly sought to enforce the practice of family prayer by threatening the disobedient with suspension from the Lord's Supper.

Directions for Family Worship were prepared and circulated in every parish. In this publication it is said that—

"So many as can conceive prayer ought to make use of that gift of God, albeit those who are rude and weaker may begin at a set form of prayer."

Materials are given for a family prayer, which concludes thus:—

"The prayer may be closed with an earnest desire that God may be glorified in the coming of the Kingdom of His Son, and in the doing of His will, and with assurance that themselves are accepted, and what they have asked according to His will shall be done."

This certainly went a long way to discourage both the reading of prayer and the use of the Lord's Prayer simpliciter, even in families.

The Assembly of 1648 approved the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and appointed the latter "to be a Directory for Catechising such as are of weaker capacity." The introduction of this new manual must have had a considerable effect upon the theology

of the rising generation. Calvin's Catechism and that of Heidelberg, which were used previously, and were now superseded, were divided into sections, one for each Sunday in the year. The Creed formed part of both, and some sixteen Sundays were devoted to the explanation of its articles. In many Churches the afternoon service was catechetical, and the Creed was preached upon for a large part of the year. The Scots Commissioners got the promise from the English Puritans that it should form part of the New Catechism, but it was introduced merely as an Appendix. From this time it probably began to be set aside, and in later generations it came to be regarded as savouring somewhat of Popery. Once when catechising a Presbyterian household I asked the question, "Who was Pontius Pilate." "A Roman Catholic," was the prompt reply, which was probably suggested by some vague remembrance of his name in the Creed. This Assembly also made an Act compelling all young persons to swear the Solemn League and Covenant before their first admission to the Lord's Supper,—a most un-Catholic addition to the requirement of the first book of discipline, that they

"Could say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, and the sum of the Law, and understand the use and nature of this Holy Sacrament,"

before admission to full communion.

The Communion Service of the Directory has the following rubric :—

"The collection for the poor is so to be ordered that no part of the Public Worship be thereby hindered."

On what grounds this change was made, Hammond says,

"I know not, unless out of that great fear lest Works of Charity (which the apostle calls an acceptable sacrifice, and with which God is well pleased), should pass for any part of the . . Worship of God."[1]

The old practice was still continued in some parts of Scotland, and the Assembly of 1648 made an Act forbidding it, and ordering ministers and sessions to "appoint some other way and time for receiving the . . collections."

The chief changes made during the period before us, were the discontinuance of daily service, of private devotion on entering Church, of read prayers, of the reading of Holy Scripture, of the Gloria, of taking up the Offertory during Divine Service, and the growing disuse of the Lord's Prayer, while ministers were required to give two lectures as well as two sermons every Sunday, besides preaching on one day and catechising on another during the week.

III. Our next period is FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1648, TILL THE DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH IN 1651.

The Covenanting Movement soon reached its high-water mark. In 1647 the English Army, in which there had been an extraordinary development of sectarianism, mutinied, seized the King, over-awed the Parliament, and scoffed at the Solemn League and Covenant as an old Almanack. In the spring of 1648, the Scottish Parliament resolved to raise an army for

[1] View of the New Directorie, p. 43.

"Maintaining the Solemn League and Covenant, for delivering the King from imprisonment, and freeing the English Parliament from the restraint put upon them."

Nearly all the Peers, more than half the Barons, and about half the Burgesses, including those from the chief towns, voted for the measure, and it was popular with the country, but the minority had the support of a large part of the Church, including all who inclined to sectarianism. The Assembly of 1648, which had been packed, came into direct collision with the State, declared "the engagement" as it was called, sinful, and threatened anathemas against all who supported it.

The Church Courts did everything in their power to prevent the levying of troops, and the army raised for the rescue of the King was utterly routed at Preston in August of that year. Cromwell, who fought the battle "with a rope round his neck," was now completely master of the situation. Advancing to the borders, he was welcomed to Edinburgh by the Anti-engagers, headed by Argyll, who usurped the Government, and promised him that all who had been accessory to the engagement should be excluded from offices of power and trust. They then disbanded the Parliament, and summoned another, allowing no Engager to be eligible as a member or to vote at the elections. The new Parliament, from which four-fifths of the nobility and a large part of the gentry were excluded, met on the 4th of January 1649, and on the 23rd passed the Act of Classes, excluding all Engagers from the public

service. The majority of the Church went hand-in-hand with the usurpers, and now began the reign of what historians have called "rigid Presbyterianism." The dominant party excluded from Communion and removed from the eldership all who were involved in the "engagement," and deposed all the clergy who had favoured it or had not preached against it. The first victims were the venerable Andrew Ramsay, one of Henderson's right-hand men, who had been fifty-three years a minister, the learned and pious Dr Baron of St Andrews, and William Colville, whom Calderwood described as the most painstaking minister in Edinburgh, for which he narrowly escaped the censure of the Assembly. The Assembly of 1649 deposed or confirmed the deposition of an immense number, and appointed five Commissions to deal with those whom Presbyteries and Synods had spared. In a few weeks the Commission of Angus and Mearns deposed eighteen and suspended five, and then adjourned to meet again for the completion of their work. Some of these unfortunates suffered for alleged insufficiency. Texts were prescribed to men who had been twenty years in the ministry, and if their new trial sermons were not up to the mark, they had to go. In 1650 most of the Orkney ministers and a number in Caithness were deposed for favouring Montrose. In the opinion of some, 1649 and '50 were "the best two years that Scotland ever saw,"[1] but these wholesale depositions sent a thrill of horror through the Reformed Churches on the Continent. They greatly changed the *per-*

[1] Kirkton's "Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland," p. 47.

sonnel and character of the Church, and brought it into closer relations with the English sectaries.

The most melancholy fruit of this civil and ecclesiastical strife was the discontinuance of the Holy Communion in the chief towns, and in many country parishes. That chief ordinance of the Church was not celebrated at this period in Edinburgh for six years, nor in Glasgow for five, nor in Stirling for nine, nor in St Andrews for six. It is related on good authority that a leading member of the Assembly of 1649 proposed that the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship should be prohibited, and that the moderator was appointed to draft an act for the purpose.[1] He declared that he could find no words for such an act, which would displease all the Protestant Churches abroad, and many friends at home but he does not appear to have thought of offending the Author of that prayer, as he is said to have suggested, that the ministers should cease using it when they went home, and let their Presbyteries know what the mind of the Assembly had been. Whether this is correct or not, we learn from Wodrow that the use of the Lord's Prayer was given up in the Churches of Edinburgh at that time. This Assembly sent a letter to Charles II., then in exile, in which they say:

"It is high time to fall down before the throne of grace seeking to get your peace made with God . . also laying aside that service book (English Prayer-Book) which is so stuffed with Romish corruptions, and conforming your own practice and the worship of God in your Royal family to that gospel simplicity and purity which is holden forth from the Word of God in the directory of worship."

[1] "Leishman's Ritual of the Church," p. 387. The Church of Scotland, V.

A change of men had brought a change of manners.

The last of the Westminster documents received by the Church was the new version of the Psalms. This was prepared by F. Rous, an English Puritan, and was ordered by the Long Parliament to be sung in all the Churches of England after January 1st, 1647. It was subjected to a thorough revision in Scotland, and the Assembly of 1649 authorised the Commission to print and publish it for public use. On the 23rd of November the Commission completed their task and forbade "any other than this new paraphrase to be made use of in any congregation or family after the 1st of May 1650." In the Scottish revision considerable changes were made, and a few psalms in the old version were retained, *e. g.*, the Old Hundredth, and Old Hundred and Twenty-fourth.

The Assembly of 1647 had appointed Zachary Boyd to "translate the other Scriptural songs in metre," and to report his labours to the Commission. The work was proceeded with, and there are frequent references to the revision of these songs during the following years. It was intended that hymns should be appended to the new Psalter, as to the old, for use in Divine Service,[1] but in the end the subject was dropped, probably through sectarian influence. The introduction of the new Psalter had a disastrous effect on the service of praise. In the old version there was a much greater variety of metre, and the proper tunes in four parts were

[1] In the old Psalter the tunes to which the hymns were to be sung were indicated.

usually printed with the text. Another novelty in Scotland, recommended by the Directory, was the reading of the line, which proved fatal to Church music. Not only were hymns excluded, but singing was only to be introduced once or twice during the service. "By reducing praise to this wholly subordinate position, one of the fundamental principles of worship was sacrificed."

The records of Presbyteries show that the new version was introduced during May 1650. The 15th of that month was kept as a day of thanksgiving for the capture of Montrose, and on that day "the new Psalm Books were read, and ordained to be sung through all the kingdom."[1] On the 21st, Montrose was executed. He had lived long enough to see the last of the old order of the Reformed Church to which he was so much attached.

In the Presbytery Book of Dalkeith, under 27th June 1650, there is an entry which sheds some light upon the continuance of old usages. Two men, who had been charged with propagating sectarian tenets, were obliged to appear before the Court, and to make the following declarations:—

"'Whereas I, Cornet William Naismyth . . have occasioned myself to be suspected that I hold some erroneous opinions concerning the use of set prayer . . of the Creed and witnesses in Baptism . . do declare as follows:—1st, as concerning set forms of prayer, I do acknowledge that . . such as are weak Christians may use set forms of prayer; . . concerning the Creed, commonly called the Creed of the Apostles, . . I acknowledge it to be profitable and necessary. . . Lastly, concerning the use of witnesses at Baptism, I acknowledge it to

[1] "Nicoll's Diary," p. XI.

be a laudable custom of the Kirk, and not rashly to be condemned.' The same day appeared Andrew Alexander, who did subscribe, according to the appointment of the Presbytery, this declaration following:— 'Whereas I . . am charged to have . . condemned the use of that prayer commonly called the Lord's Prayer . . I acknowledge that that prayer . . is not only a pattern of prayer, according to which we are to frame our prayers, but (is) itself a most comprehensive prayer . . and may lawfully be used as a prayer, both by the ministers of Christ in the public prayers of the Church, and by others in their private or secret worship, . . and I do heartily detest and abhor the error of those who condemn the use thereof as sinful.' Moreover, for as much as the said Andrew declared he was scarcely satisfied that set forms were lawful, and desired he were cleared from Scripture, Mr Robert Leighton and Mr John Sinclair were ordained to confer with him."

Was this conservative action on the part of the Presbytery due to the fact that it had among its members the ex-Bishop of Argyll and the future Archbishop of Glasgow, or was it that the landing of the King emboldened it to make this stand against sectarianism?

The murder of Charles I. on the 30th of January 1649, brought on a Royalist re-action, even among those who, by opposing "the engagement," had "posted him to his grave." On the 5th of February thereafter, the Scottish Parliament proclaimed Charles II. King, but it was enacted that he should not be admitted to the exercise of the Royal power, until he swore both the Covenants. He had no objection to the National Covenant, but was strongly averse to signing the Solemn League. After eighteen months, however, he swore both, and having landed at Speymouth on the 23rd of June 1650, he submitted to all the demands of Church and State. His presence in

Scotland was a menace to the English republic, and Cromwell with his Sectarian army crossed the Tweed on the 22nd of July, and at Dunbar on the 3rd of September, fought his second battle with the Scottish Covenanters, and again gained an overwhelming victory. In the opinion of some, the shameful defeat of the Scottish army was owing to there being many Independents and Sectaries in its ranks, "who had too much relation and correspondence with Cromwell." Certainly after the battle numbers deserted Monarchy and Presbytery, and went over to the usurper. Among the rigid Presbyterians, there was an ultra-rigid faction, who, like the zealots that destroyed Jerusalem, ruined the cause which they professed to love so well. They drew up the Western Remonstrance, condemning the treaty with the king as sinful, and demanding his suspension until he should give convincing proofs of a real change of character. The clerical leaders of the Remonstrants were Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow and James Guthrie of Stirling, and the party included most of those who had promoted the Brownist innovations. They were passionately opposed to the coronation of the King, which took place at Scone, on the 1st of January 1651.

Since the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell had been master of the country up to the Forth. The Engagers were loyal to King, country, and Church, and were ready to submit to any penance the Church might impose, in order to their being allowed to take part in the National Defence. The Government consulted the Commission of the Church, which, not-

withstanding the opposition of Guthrie and Rutherford, resolved that,—

"In this case of so great and evident necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against this enemy for the defence of the kingdom, . . excepting such as are excommunicated, . . or continue . . enemies and opposers of the Covenant."

It was added that those who had taken part in "the engagement," should make profession of their repentance.

This resolution was adopted in December 1650, and in May 1651 the Act of Classes was repealed, the Commission having given its consent on condition that those who had been debarred from places of trust should satisfy the Church and renew the Covenant. These resolutions were vehemently opposed by the remonstrants, and caused the Disruption of the Church a few months later.

On the approach of Cromwell's army the ministers fled, and the English soldiers stabled their horses in the Churches, and burnt the seats and furnishings. The College Church of Edinburgh, Greyfriars', and Lady Yester's, were laid waste, their whole wood work and all their "decorements," committed to the flames. This was the beginning of much similar work during Cromwell's rule. South Leith Church was "sacrilegiously turned into a stable," because the minister prayed for the King.

"To raise the walls of their garrison at Inverness, the English ruined the beautiful High Church of Ross, and completed the wreck of that Cistertian Monastery of Kinloss, . . which had been hallowed by native piety and munificence, and adorned by the arts

and learning of Italy and France. They made an arsenal of the venerable Church of St John, at Ayr, within the walls of which Bruce had held his Parliament. They turned the Church of St Ninian, at Aberdeen, into a barrack, and fortified it with ramparts of stone torn from the buttresses of the Cathedral and the ruins of the Bishop's Palace. Monuments which national pride had spared amid the ravages of the Covenant, found no mercy from (these) alien sectarians." [1]

It was found that the abolition of the daily service in Edinburgh, in 1647, had occasioned "much drinking at that season, when . . prayers and chapters were usually read." To prevent that sin the ministers resolved to give a lecture by turns, morning and evening, daily in Church. This began in March 1650, but ended with Cromwell's occupation. At the coronation of the King the religious services were conducted by Douglas. In the published account, which is very minute, no mention is made of his having read any chapters of Holy Scripture, or used the Lord's Prayer, and the only praise on that day of joy and thanksgiving was the singing of the 20th Psalm.

The Assembly met at St Andrews in July 1651, when Cant, the former moderator, preached against the public proceedings, and Douglas, his successor, preached in the afternoon and "contradicted the former sermon." On Sunday the 17th news came that part of Cromwell's army had crossed the Forth, and defeated the Scots at Inverkeithing. The Assembly met at twelve o'clock on Sunday night, and adjourned to meet at Dundee on the 22nd. At this midnight meeting a protestation against the lawful-

[1] Robertson's Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals, p. 97.

ness of the Assembly was given in by Rutherford and twenty-two others. The protesters did not follow the Assembly to Dundee, and five of the ringleaders were summoned to appear before it. Failing to do so, James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and James Simson were deposed, and James Naismyth was suspended. Thus began the first open schism of the Church since the Reformation, and it is remarkable that it should have taken place so soon after the old liturgy ceased to be in the hands of the people.

With the introduction of the new Psalter, the transformation of the Church was complete. It had become little more than a mere teaching institute, and worship was minimised to a degree never before reached in any part of Catholic Christendom. The rejection of practices common to all the Reformed Churches was gall and wormwood to old-fashioned Presbyterians like Henderson and Calderwood, who, with many more of the older men, had gone to their rest before the work of destruction was complete; and there is ample evidence that the giving up of the reading of Holy Scripture, of the Lord's Prayer, of the Gloria and in many places of the Lord's Supper, was exceedingly unpopular with the laity. It seemed as if all ideas of *beautifying the place of His Sanctuary and making the place of His feet glorious*, of Christian worship as modelled on that of Heaven, as abounding in thanksgiving and praise, and as having the Lord's Supper for its central rite, had perished out of the land; but no doubt many devout souls mourned in secret over the desolation that had been wrought,

and longed and prayed for the time when God's glory should be seen in the Sanctuary as in the days of old.

We now come to—

IV. THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH FROM THE DISRUPTION OF 1651 TILL THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY IN 1661.

After the defeat of the Scots at Inverkeithing, the main army, near Stirling, commanded by the King, was placed in a hazardous position. Thinking the boldest course the safest, he marched into England, expecting that the English Presbyterians would rally round his standard, but they hesitated as usual. Cromwell followed on his track, and, at Worcester, on the 3rd of September, almost annihilated the Scottish army. The King, after hair-breadth escapes, found his way to the continent. Monk, whom Cromwell left in command in Scotland, carried the war into the Highlands, and, on the 26th of August, captured the Estates and nine ministers at Alyth, and shipped them off to the Tower of London. Scotland was now a conquered country for the first time in history. The Covenants as state documents were dead, and Sectarianism was triumphant over both Presbytery and Episcopacy. The Disruption of the Scottish Church was followed by a ten years' conflict, the fiercest that ever raged in the country. The "Westland Renters of the Kirk," as the protesters were called, were very much the same party as that which had all along promoted the sectarian innovations in worship, and

now by their schismatic courses they broke the back of the Church and for ever destroyed its orderly continuity.

Worship in the Church during the Interregnum.

After a year of anarchy, during which Scotland was horrified by Cromwell's officers and soldiers preaching in the churches and by other unordained persons preaching, baptising, and marrying, the Assembly met at Edinburgh in July 1652. A protestation against its lawfulness was given in by the protesters; and the English commissioners, who were chiefly Independents, presented a paper recommending the adoption of that system.

The Assembly, having got rid of much of its weakness, as well as lost some of its strength, now endeavoured to recover lost ground. It made an Act recommending,—

"That every minister do so dispose of the time appointed for the reading of Scripture as both the order of the Directory and the Act of Uniformity in the point of lecture may be observed, the two chapters being read, one of the Old Testament and the other of the New. After reading of the first, some few observations of the chief doctrines being held forth . . time may be left to read the second chapter and to give some observations on it also . . and that every Lord's Day . . some competent portion of the Catechism be explained before the whole congregation, and that the points that are handled be propounded by questions to be answered by some called up for that purpose."

This Act shows how the Directory was meant to be followed, and it contemplates the restoration of the catechetical service on Sunday afternoon. This was the last utterance of a Covenanting Assembly on the subject of worship. On July 20th, 1653, when

the Assembly attempted to meet, it was ordered by one of Cromwell's officers to disperse and to convene no more, "to the exceeding grief of all except the remonstrants, who insulted upon it." Presbyteries and Synods were still allowed to meet, but they were constantly interfered with. If they attempted to discipline a protester, he had nothing to do but to procure an order from the commandant of the nearest garrison to have the proceedings against him stopped. Cromwell posed as the great advocate of toleration, but the Church found his little finger heavier than the loins of any of the Stuarts. Henceforth the history of worship has to be traced in the Synod and Presbytery records and in the diaries of the time. Nicoll has the following entry under October 1653:—

"This did not content the people, because there was no reading of chapters nor singing of psalms on the Sabbath day; wherefore the ministers (of Edinburgh), thought it good to restore the wonted custom of singing of psalms, as also the exercise of the Catechism in causing of two boys every Sunday, both before noon and after (to be) examined publicly, and read the Catechism from the second bell to the third, for edification of the people."

This bears that for some time previously there had been not only no reading of Scripture, but no singing in Church. The order as to the reading of Scripture was not obeyed, and the juvenile performances lasted only for a short time. In July 1654, Cromwell called up to London three of the protesters, Patrick Gillespie, John Menzies, and John Livingstone, to aid him in preparing an ordinance for Scotland, similar to that of the Tryers which he had introduced into England. A leading provision of the ordinance was that no one

was to be admitted to a parish who was not approved by these tryers—ministers and laymen of the various sects—and in filling up vacancies, respect was to be had "to the choice of the more sober and godly part of the people, although the same shall not prove to be the greater part."

The Synods did all in their power to resist this ordinance (Gillespie's Charter, it was called), as entirely overthrowing the Government of the Church, and as it was opposed by some of the protesters also, it was only partially carried out, but it increased the number of the dissenting ministry. In November 1655 the Synod of Lothian appointed a Committee—

"To consider whether or not in every Congregation, when the people are gathered, there shall be singing of psalms and reading of chapters, both before and after noon on the Sabbath day, before lecture and sermon begin, and how catechetical doctrine shall be preached each afternoon on the Sabbath day."

The Report was received at the Meeting in May 1656, and the Synod then

"Appointed that ministers in the afternoon use catechetical doctrine in such manner that they go through and expound the whole Catechism in one year, so as uses be given to every doctrine that shall be handled, and that there be more Scripture read, and the Directory followed as much as they are able."

Similar injunctions as to the reading of Scripture were repeated year after year till 1660, but they were disregarded. The people were greatly dissatisfied in consequence, and in some cases congregations took the matter into their own hands, and restored the reader and his service.

Worship among the Dissenters.

The protesters were a mixed multitude, politically and religiously. They were so deep in the interests of Cromwell that patriotic Presbyterians like Crawford-Lindsay said of them, "We know but two parties in Scotland, those who stand for the rights and liberties, the laws and government of Scotland, and those who have protested and acted against these good ends. The last (the protesters) we do not look on as Scotsmen."[1] Some of the leaders of the party early became Independents, such as Row, whom Cromwell made Principal of Aberdeen; Menzies, Professor of Divinity there; and (to all intents and purposes) Patrick Gillespie, whom Cromwell made Principal of Glasgow. Many of their followers became Baptists, a sect hitherto unknown in Scotland, and numbers became Quakers, such as Provost Jaffrey of Aberdeen and his wife, who was the daughter of Andrew Cant; Skene of Newtyle and his wife, Lilias Gillespie, sister of George and Patrick, who, through their mother, inherited the blood of the Simsons and Adamsons, and were thus connected with the most distinguished Scottish clerical families. The protesters presumptuously claimed to be "the godly party," but some of them had a bad reputation for morality. They preached for and "plyed" the English sectaries to secure their influence with Cromwell, while the English Presbyterians supported the resolutioners. In parishes they coalesced with other separatists, and formed a united sectarian party. Writing in 1654,

[1] Memoir of Lady Anna Mackenzie, p. 157.

Baillie says, "When a very few of the Remonstrators or Independent party will call a man, he gets a kirk and the stipend; but whom the Presbytery and well near the whole congregation calls and admits, he must preach in the fields or in a barn without stipend."[1]

As to worship, they "framed the churches after the sectarian model." They introduced Fast Days and extra preaching days at the administration of the Lord's Supper. They no doubt stopped the use of the Creed and witnesses at baptism, and they appear to have introduced the exposition of the opening psalm when they had any singing at all.

The Restoration of Episcopacy.

On the 26th of May 1660, the King landed at Dover, and on the 29th made his entry into London. In November 1660, the Synod of Lothian sent congratulatory letters to the King and Lauderdale, and adjourned to meet on the 4th of December. They then proceeded to deal with the dissenting brethren within their bounds. The chief charges brought against them were disloyalty to the King, rejecting the Assemblies of 1651-2, and habitual disobedience to the Acts of the Synod. Sentence was delayed till the next Synod, or the meeting of the General Assembly, should it intervene, and Presbyteries were directed to endeavour to bring them to repentance. When the Synod met in May 1661, those who professed penitence were restored, others were deposed.

[1] Letters III., p. 244.

Lord Callender, who was sent by the King's commissioner to attend this meeting, desired—

"That the Synod would make an Act ordaining the Scriptures to be read . . in the congregation; . . the Lord's Prayer to be used once before or after every sermon; an account of the Belief at the baptising of the children to be taken of the father or presenter of the child; the singing of Glory to the Father put in practice; and that reading of Scripture and prayers be publicly used in towns and villages every morning and evening on the week-day, according to that former laudable practice of this Church."

After deliberation, the answer approved by a majority of votes, was as follows:—

"Concerning the reading of Scripture, the Synod recommends that two chapters be read before sermon, both before and after noon, according to the Act of the General Assembly 1645: And as to the other particulars, the Synod recommends to the several Presbyteries to try what is ordained by the General Assembly thereanent, and that they observe the same till the Lord bless us with a General Assembly, which . . we have good reason to hope shall not be long wanting."

Many members "protested against and dissented from the Act." As those whose names are mentioned in the Record conformed to Episcopacy, it is evident that the minority wished Callender's request to be acceded to in all points. Not being satisfied with the answer, he dissolved the meeting. The difficulties which had stood in the way of the reading of Scripture for the previous fifteen years, were easily surmounted as this final recommendation of the Synod on the subject was promptly carried out, and even before this time, in some congregations the Gloria Patri "a great stranger to this Church for many years," was resumed.

When the Synods met in the spring of 1661, there was every reason to believe that Episcopacy would be

restored. It is evident that in sending Callender to the Synod of Lothian, Middleton wished, by holding out the prospect of the restoration of old Scottish usages in worship, to make the intended change of government more acceptable to those who were opposed to it.

Bishops were restored before the end of the year, and at their Synods in 1662, they gave instructions that the reading of Scripture, the use of the Lord's Prayer, and Gloria Patri, the repetition of the Creed at baptism, and (in some dioceses) that morning and evening daily prayer should be resumed. Nicol says, the doxology was "brought in by authority of the bishops with greater devotion than ever before, for all the people rose at the singing Glory to the Father, etc.," which shows that the posture of sitting at praise had previously prevailed. These old Presbyterian usages were henceforth associated with Episcopacy; those who refused to conform, clung to the service as cut down by Brownism. This mutilated service came afterwards to be associated with the sufferings of the persecuted, and even to be regarded as the form of worship introduced by the Reformers. Thus buttressed, it held its ground for two centuries. There was certainly nothing of the spirit of Brownism, however much of the letter, in the worship of the Moderates of last century, but an entirely non-liturgical service suits people who do not like being tied down to what they call "dogma"; and it enables like-minded clergymen, not only in the ministration of Word but of Sacrament, to steer clear of all the essential truths of the Gospel.

Conclusion.

In our own day much has been done *to rebuild the waste places and to repair the desolations of former generations.* This "second reformation" has done more to revive sound docrine and to strengthen the Church than any other single cause, and in the origin of the movement the late Dr Robert Lee acted a conspicuous part. There was another note struck by him, which, if it had been responded to, would have saved the Church from the catastrophe of 1843. He was one of the few men who, during the non-intrusion controversy, raised a warning voice against the sin and peril of schism. It was the schism of the protesters that wrecked the Church in 1651, and their refusal to listen to any reasonable terms of union was the chief cause of the restoration of Episcopacy in 1681. History repeats itself. If the modern representatives of the protesters succeed in their efforts to disestablish the Church and to secularise the property which our forefathers devoted to God and his service, they will inflict the most deadly wound on Scottish Presbytery that it has ever yet received. If, on the other hand, the Church escapes the present peril, and is permitted to follow out such lines as have been indicated by the Church Service Society, the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, and the Scottish Church Society, she may yet gather into her fold the best of those who have separated from her, and contribute many valuable elements to that wider reunion for which we all long and pray.

So may it be.

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